



UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA

TRABAJO FIN DE ESTUDIOS

Título

Análisis interlingüístico de metáforas en urdú e inglés

Autor/es

MAHUM HAYAT KHAN

Director/es

FRANCISCO JOSÉ RUIZ DE MENDOZA IBÁÑEZ y MARÍA LORENA PÉREZ
HERNÁNDEZ ,

Facultad

Escuela de Máster y Doctorado de la Universidad de La Rioja

Titulación

Máster Universitario en Estudios Avanzados en Humanidades

Departamento

FILOLOGÍAS MODERNAS

Curso académico

2016-17



Análisis interlingüístico de metáforas en urdú e inglés, de MAHUM HAYAT KHAN

(publicada por la Universidad de La Rioja) se difunde bajo una Licencia Creative Commons Reconocimiento-NoComercial-SinObraDerivada 3.0 Unported. Permisos que vayan más allá de lo cubierto por esta licencia pueden solicitarse a los titulares del copyright.

Trabajo de Fin de Máster

A cross-linguistic analysis of metaphors in Urdu and English

Autor:

Mahum Mubashar

Tutor/es: Francisco J. Ruiz de Mendoza, Lorena Pérez Hernández

MÁSTER:

Máster en Estudios Avanzados en Humanidades (655M)

Escuela de Máster y Doctorado



**UNIVERSIDAD
DE LA RIOJA**

AÑO ACADÉMICO: 2016/2017

Abstract

Over the past two decades, the relationship between metaphor and culture has been an important object of study in Cognitive Linguistics, especially due to the impact of globalisation on our everyday living (Kövecses, 2005). This impact has particularly affected the field of economy where figurative language is pervasive (White and Herrera, 2002). Within this research context, the present dissertation aims at exploring the role of culture in the field of economy from a cognitive-linguistic perspective. To do so, metaphors in two different languages, Urdu and English, have been analysed. Metaphors in Urdu have been extracted from economic articles intended for public use. The equivalent English metaphors are taken out from two well-known corpora: the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and the *British National Corpus* (BNC). Urdu metaphors and their English counterparts have been analysed meticulously from the point of view of the role of cognitive operations (and their interaction patterns) in making meaning and of the constraining principles involved in such cognitive activity (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011, Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa, 2014; Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña, 2017). Metaphors also have been classified (Deignan et al, 1997) to illustrate the linguistic and conceptual differences and similarities between the two languages. Differences are found mainly on the basis of cultural related aspects whereas similarities stem from other factors such as the globalized nature of economy or the presence of correlational metaphors. This proves the consistency between culture and conceptual thinking but it also evidences the dependence of metaphors to other factors that trigger their universality. The analysis provided here, besides contributing to the understanding of conceptual differences between English and Urdu, has proved in cross-linguistic terms the descriptive and explanatory adequacy of the account of cognitive operations and conceptual complexes mentioned above.

Keywords: culture, metaphor, metonymy, complex cognitive operations, economy.

Resumen

En las últimas dos décadas la relación de la metáfora y la cultura ha sido objeto de estudio en la Lingüística Cognitiva especialmente debido al impacto de la globalización en nuestras vidas (Kövecses, 2005). Este impacto ha afectado particularmente al campo de la economía en el que el uso del lenguaje figurado está extendido (White and Herrera, 2002). En el contexto de esta investigación, esta tesis se centra en explorar el papel de la cultura en el campo de la economía desde el punto de vista de la Lingüística Cognitiva. Para ello, metáforas en lenguas diferentes, Urdu e Inglés, han sido analizadas. Las metáforas en Urdu han sido sacadas de artículos sobre economía pensados para uso general. Las metáforas equivalentes en Inglés se han buscado en dos corpora reconocidos: *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) y *British National Corpus* (BNC). Las metáforas en Urdu y sus equivalentes se han analizado meticulosamente desde el punto de vista de operaciones cognitivas (y sus modelos de interacción) para hacer significado y los principios de restricción presentes en este tipo de actividades cognitivas. (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011), Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa, 2014; Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña, 2017). Las metáforas también han sido clasificadas (Deignan et al, 1997) para mostrar las diferencias y similitudes conceptuales y lingüísticas encontradas. Las diferencias encontradas se basan sobre todo en aspectos relacionados con la cultura mientras que las similitudes están influenciadas por otros factores como el aspecto global de la economía o la presencia de metáforas correlacionales. Esto demuestra la consistencia entre la cultura y el pensamiento conceptual pero también indica la dependencia de las metáforas de otros factores que promueven su universalidad. El análisis de las metáforas, además de contribuir a entender las diferencias conceptuales entre el Inglés y el Urdu, ha demostrado, desde un punto de vista inter-lingüístico, la capacidad descriptiva y explicativa de las operaciones cognitivas y complejos conceptuales mencionados anteriormente.

Palabras clave: cultura, metáfora, metonimia, operaciones cognitivas complejas, economía.

Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Metaphor, culture and economic discourse: a thumbnail sketch	3
2.1. Metaphor and culture	3
2.2. Metaphor and economy	4
3. Advances in Conceptual Metaphor Theory	7
3.1. Models of knowledge organization	7
3.2. Cognitive operations	9
3.3. Constraints on metaphors	14
3.4. Culture and metaphor	15
4. Objectives	19
5. Corpus and methodology	21
5.1. Corpus selection and description	21
5.2. Criteria for corpus selection	22
5.3. Methodology	22
6. Results and discussion	25
6.1. Analysis and discussion of Urdu and English metaphors	25
6.2. Classification of metaphors under analysis	44
7. Conclusions	47
8. References	49
8.1. Bibliography	49
8.2. Internet sources	52
9. Appendix	53

1. INTRODUCTION

"What does metaphor have to do with culture?" This question, posed by Kövecses in his book *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and variation* (2005), has gained ground within Cognitive Linguistics over the last decades. Cognitive Linguistics offers a new perspective on metaphor, which is defined as a mapping across discrete conceptual domains where one of them, called the *source domain*, is used to reason and talk about the other, called the *target domain* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). This conception of metaphor as a cognitive operation has given rise to the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (CTM) (Lakoff, 1993), later on simply referred to as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is the standard model within Cognitive Linguistics to carry out metaphor analysis (see also Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Dirven and Ruiz de Mendoza, 2010, Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez-Hernández, 2011, Gibbs, 2011, and the papers in González-García et al. 2013).

A cognitive-linguistic analysis of metaphor has to take into account contextual factors to provide a thorough description of its internal composition and meaning implications. Context can be defined in various slightly different ways. For some the notion of context equates with the situation in which an utterance is produced (as in the Firthian tradition; see Langendoen 1968). For others, like relevance theorists (Sperber and Wilson 1995), the context is a combination of the situation in hand, world knowledge, and previous discourse. One of the main proponents of metaphor theory within Cognitive Linguistics, Zoltan Kövecses (2015), makes emphasis on the cultural aspects of context. In this dissertation, we will take this stance. The narrow relationship between metaphor and culture can only be substantiated through the systematic cross-linguistic analysis of metaphors. This is, in itself, a mammoth task, given the large amount of languages and cultures, many of them awaiting not only description but also explanation in terms of high-level generalizations, which is the ultimate goal of linguistic analysis (cf. Goldberg, 2006). Cross-linguistic analysis can be used to reveal cultural differences that have their manifestation in language structure and use. But conversely, cultural factors are also useful to account for differences in linguistic structure. This potential dual role of cross-linguistic analysis, which will become manifest all through the present dissertation, is what underlies the main goal of

the present research, which is to contrast metaphorical use between English and Urdu. Although, members of the Indo-European family, Urdu and English are conceptually and grammatically very distant languages. English is a Germanic language, while Urdu is an Indo-Iranian language. Urdu is the *lingua franca* of Pakistan and it is mutually intelligible with standard Hindi. Culturally, speakers of English and Urdu are also wide apart.

Most contrastive studies are carried out in the domains of morphology and syntax. Studying conceptual structure across languages, much less as structured by metaphor, is not common. There is of course partial work that has been carried out by some scholars (cf. the studies in Maalej and Yu 2011 related to body parts), but more languages and a broad range of conceptual domains or thematic fields need to be considered. To this end, the present dissertation is intended to contribute to the field of the cross-linguistic study of metaphor by examining metaphors between two disparate languages, English and Urdu, in the field of economy. The reason to choose this field is its well attested productivity (Charteris-Black, 2000, White and Herrera, 2002). Examples of metaphors such as *trade barriers*, *banks sink*, *strong/stable economy*, *battle for control the market*, *credit flows*, *human capital* (Boers, 2000; Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001; White, 2003) are endless in the economics domain.

To our knowledge, there is a lack of research on cross-linguistic analysis of metaphors in economics in Urdu and English. Hence, this study aims to explore metaphors related to the economic field in Urdu taken out from a selection of articles and find their equivalents in English (if applicable) using mainly two corpora: the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The rest of this dissertation is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the main lines of research on the relationship between metaphor/culture and metaphor/ economy. Section 3 describes the theoretical framework that serves as the basis for the study. Section 4 and 5 concentrate on methodological issues, including a description of the corpus, the criteria for data selection and the methodology chosen for this study. Section 6 is devoted to a qualitative analysis and discussion of the data. Finally, section 7 focuses on the main findings and the implication of the study and it concludes by pointing out some lines for further research which are aimed at trying to overcome potential limitations in the present study.

2. METAPHOR, CULTURE AND ECONOMIC DISCOURSE: A THUMBNAIL SKETCH

2.1. Metaphor and culture

Traditionally, metaphor was understood as a mere aesthetic device used for embellishment in literary texts. In Cognitive Linguistics, however, a new conception of this phenomenon emerged which sees it as a way of understanding the world (Kövecses, 2005: 2). The world is organized in our minds in the form of *idealized cognitive models* (Lakoff, 1987) or *cognitive models* for short (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014). Cognitive models are defined as "the stored cognitive representations that belong to a certain field" (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996: 47). They are in fact cultural models shared by people with the same culture (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996: 50). Sharing culture implies "living in a social, historical, and physical environment [and] making sense of experiences in a more or less unified manner" (Kövecses, 2015: 96). In accordance to this, there are two important papers that set up the basis for further investigation in the context of the relationship between metaphor and culture which are: *Taking metaphor out of our heads and putting it into the cultural word* by Gibbs (1999) and *Metaphor: does it constitute or reflect cultural models?* by Kövecses (1999).

The first article draws our attention towards the importance of culture in shaping our metaphorical connections through embodied experience. Gibbs argues in favour of Kirmayers's (1999: 156) work in which the author affirms that "metaphors are tools for working with experience". Experience is understood as our interactions with our body and with the world (culture). Taking this into account, Gibbs (1999: 156) defends the idea that "what is cognitive (and embodied) is inherently cultural". The second article develops its approach on the basis of the following statement: "Cultural models for abstract concepts are inherently metaphorical" (Kövecses, 1999: 185). Kövecses explains the ways abstract concepts emerge and leads us to believe that basic experience select "fitting conceptual metaphors" that constitute different cultural models. In order to illustrate his idea, he uses the example of marriage. On a basic level, marriage is a unity of some kind (emotional, legal...) between two people. This triggers the conceptual metaphor MARRIAGE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY

PARTS and this in turn becomes a cultural model for American society (1999: 184). Metaphor and culture are therefore intrinsically related. In this line, researchers have offered their views on their relationship in different domains (Kövecses, 2005, 2010; Yu, 2003, 2008).

2.2. Metaphor and economy

"Metaphor is a key methodological instrument in economic research" (Skorczynska and Deignan, 2006: 89). According to Rafael Alejo (2010), metaphor analysis in the domain of economy has been seen from two different perspectives: economy and applied linguistics. Economists, on the one hand, have focused on metaphors at the "theory constructive" level, which involves the understanding of "root metaphors" (i.e. metaphors that make possible the discussion, selection and organization of the topic in question). Linguists, on the other hand, have emphasized the discursive nature of economic texts paying attention to metaphors' "typical distribution and their communicative function" (Alejo, 2010: 1137).

Taking this second approach as a starting point, researchers support metaphor awareness in ESP (English for Specific Purposes) and economics (Boers, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2000; White, 2003) by looking at particular cases of metaphors which are common in economic discourse (e.g. ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, ECONOMY IS A MACHINE). Boers and Demecheleer (1997) have gone a step further by examining metaphors in English, French and Dutch in newspaper articles using preselected source domains (warfare, path, health care). In this vein, Charteris-Black and Ennis (2001) have also analysed metaphors cross-linguistically in Spanish and English in the domain of financial reporting. Similarly, Chung (2008, 2012) puts forwards two cross-linguistic analysis in which he analysed economic metaphors in Mandarin, English and Malay and Mandarin and English respectively. He comes up (2012: 149-150) with relevant results outlining that there are certain metaphors that Mandarin English students find difficult due to their conceptual difference in both languages and this has to be addressed by applying measures in teaching economic metaphors. He also points out that different types of conceptual metaphors in distinct languages may represent the underlying economic system of countries. Another relevant

study on this issue is Skorczynska and Deignan's (2006) *Readership and Purpose in the choice of Economic Metaphors*. In this study these authors analyse economics discourse both in a scientific business corpus and in a popular business corpus with the purpose of establishing differences and similarities between them. They conclude by pointing out that the context and purpose of the text influences metaphor choice (Skorczynska and Deignan, 2006: 102).

3. ADVANCES IN CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

3.1. Models of knowledge organization

To begin with, it would be interesting to quote Whorf's notion of *linguistic systems*. Whorf (1940: 213) affirms that "the world is represented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our mind". According to this scholar, the way our knowledge of the world and our experiences are organized is revealed by language. To facilitate this action our minds unconsciously categorize whatever surrounds us. Aristoteles had already talked about the existence of categories. According to this philosopher, the members of a category have the same features, the same status and clear-cut boundaries. This classical view on categorization was questioned in the 20th century with Wittgenstein (1953). This philosopher claimed that categories have 'family resemblance' relations, that is, there are good and bad members in categories and categories could be extended as new members are included in them (cf. Lakoff, 1986: 16-17). In the 1970s, Eleanor Rosch and her collaborators provided empirical validation of these assumptions through experimental work that paved the way for a ground-breaking theory: the *prototype theory* of meaning. According to this theory, each category has a member that defines it in the best possible way. This member is the *prototype*. Prototypes are mental representations of members in categories that first come to our mind. Different theories were produced to explain the organization of categories in our brains. Fillmore's *frames* (1976) was one of them. Fillmore (1976: 23) proposed frames through which "the language-user interprets his environment, formulates his own messages, understands the message of others and accumulates or creates an internal model of his world". One of the often quoted examples is the *commercial event frame* that activates words such as *buy*, *sell*, *pay* or *cost* (Fillmore, 1976: 25). Therefore, frames capture properties of events and their relations in an organized set of knowledge relations and roles. Johnson's (1987) *image schemas* are another important attempt to explain the organization of knowledge. They are defined as "schematizations of sensorimotor experience capturing spatial orientations, regions and positions, the part-whole structure of complex entities, etc." (Ruiz de

Mendoza, 2017: 139). For instance, *look in the mirror* involves a CONTAINER schema or *the sun is up* involves VERTICALITY schema.

Another theory, briefly mentioned in the introduction, is Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 1999) *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (CMT). These authors propose metaphors as "systematic devices for further defining a concept and for changing its range of applicability" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 126). Metaphor is understood as a "mapping from a source domain to a target domain" (Lakoff, 1993: 206-207); a mapping is in turn understood as a set of correspondences between source and target domain and a domain is defined as a "coherent organization of experience" (Kövecses, 2010: 4). One of the stock examples of conceptual metaphors is LOVE IS JOURNEY. We understand love in terms of journey as we map the characteristics of journeys onto those of love. Source and target constitute distinct domains. In this case, we understand LOVE, which is the target domain in terms of JOURNEY, which is the source domain. The following table shows the correspondences between them:

Source	Target
JOURNEY	LOVE
Travelers	Lovers
Vehicle	Love relationship
Journey	Events in the relationship
Distance covered	Progress made
Obstacles	Difficulties
Decisions made	Choices about what to do
Destination	Goals

Figure 1. Set of mappings in LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2010)

The characteristics of the notion of *journey* map onto the characteristics of the concept of *love*. Generally, a concrete concept (e.g. a journey) is mapped onto an abstract concept (e.g. love) as in the example above.

The proponents of CMT were also concerned with metonymy, although only to the extent that metonymy, although also involving a mapping, is different from metaphor. Thus, Lakoff and Turner (1989) explain that metonymy is based on a *stands for* relationship within one conceptual domain. These authors also point out that metonymy, but not metaphor, is mainly used for reference (cf. Ruiz de

Mendoza and Otal, 2002: 26). An instance of metonymy is *the ham sandwich is waiting for his check* where the *ham sandwich* stands for the *customer* that has ordered a ham sandwich:

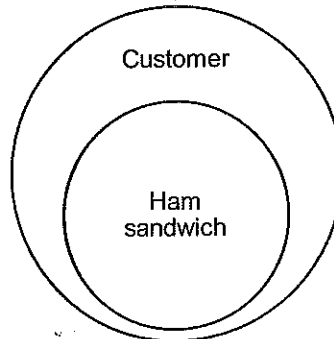


Figure 2. Metonymy: HAM SANDWICH FOR CUSTOMER

These three theories are brought together by Lakoff (1987) under the notion of Idealized Cognitive Model mentioned above, which is a pattern of knowledge organization in our brains that is possible thanks to four cognitive models: metaphors, metonymies, image schemas and frames (Lakoff, 1987: 68). For space constraints, in this study we will focus mainly on metaphors.

3.2. Cognitive operations

CMT was reconstructed in 1999 by Lakoff and Johnson with the integration of new theories such as: Christopher Johnson's (1999) theory of conflation, Grady's (1997) theory of primary metaphor, Narayanan's (1997) neural theory of metaphor, and Fauconnier and Turner's (1996) theory of conceptual blending (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011: 164). For the purposes of this work we are interested in examining the first two theories as well as Grady's (1999) later addition to metaphors typology. Johnson's (1999) conflation theory supports the idea that conceptual metaphors follow two stages: on a first stage target and source domain "tend to co-occur in experience", which makes them conflate, and on a second stage the domains can be separated (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011: 164). Grady (1997) claims that "complex metaphors are made up of primary metaphors that develop through conflation" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011: 164). Thus, primary metaphors are the result of conflation based on our experience. Later, Grady (1999) distinguished between *correlational* and *resemblance metaphors*. Primary metaphors are

correlational in nature, which means that metaphors of this type are grounded in experience and they are formed through conflation (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017: 144). Resemblance metaphors, on the other hand, take similarity between the target and source domains as central (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017: 144).

Grady's distinction between resemblance and correlation metaphors is further elaborated by Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014), who present a classification of cognitive operations that work on figurative language. They understand cognitive operations as "mechanisms that our minds use in order to store and retrieve information, and also to make mental representations" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 85). They take Ruiz de Mendoza's (2011) typology of formal operations and content operations preliminarily put forward by Ruiz de Mendoza and Santibáñez (2003). For the purposes of this paper we are going to explain two of the content operations they propose which are: *correlation* and *comparison* (by resemblance).

First of all, they state that there are two types of content relations: A IS B (*identity relations*) and A FOR B (*stands for relations*). Comparison gives rise to A IS B relations whereas correlation fits into both categories (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 92).

The cognitive operation of correlation follows the premises of Grady's (1999) definition of correlations metaphors. However, in recent years it is further argued that it involves "embodied simulation, i.e. the actual use of bodily experience when understanding abstract concepts" as is the case of ANGER IS HEAT, which comprises getting angry and the rising of our body temperature (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 93). Comparison by resemblance again keeps Grady's (1999) definition of resemblance metaphors. To explain this type of metaphors, Grady (1999: 87) gives the example *Achilles is a lion*, in which the metaphor matches the similarities between people and animals giving rise to the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

Distinguishing the various kinds of cognitive operations has given rise to the study of metaphoric complexes. These are defined as "combination(s) between two or more metaphors" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 96). Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2011, 2012, 2014) distinguish between *metaphoric amalgams* *metaphoric* and *metonymic chains* and *metaphonymy*. Metaphoric amalgams can be single-source or double-source. *Single-source metaphoric*

amalgams are characterized by incorporating "one of the metaphors in a complex into the internal conceptual configuration of the other" (2014: 96). A very representative example is *my boss is a pig* (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017: 153) in which we have the metaphor IMMORALITY IS FILTH integrated into the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS:

SOURCE 1	TARGET 1
Pig	Boss
SOURCE 2	TARGET 2
Filth	Immorality

Figure 3. Single-source amalgam for "My boss is a pig" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017)

Double-source metaphoric amalgams consist in "the mapping of two different source domains onto the same target domain" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 100). A clear example of this kind would be *Mary slapped some common sense into her son* (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017: 154) in which *common sense* is transferred to Mary's son:

SOURCE 1	TARGET	SOURCE 2
Motion caused by physical impact	Change motivated by psychological impact	Changing possession
Causer of motion	Causer of psychological change	Initial possessor of object
Causing motion	Causing psychological change	Transferring possession
Destination of motion	Psychologically affected entity	New possessor of an object
Moving object	New psychological property	Possessed object
Reaching destination	Developing psychological change	Gaining possession of an object
Manner of causing motion	Manner of causing psychological change	Manner of transferring possession

Figure 4. Double-source amalgam for "Slap some common sense into someone" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017)

There is an innovative case of complex cognitive operations which has been postulated by Miró Sastre (2017: 19) called *binary amalgams* in which "neither of the two metaphors has priority over the other and both operate within the

boundaries of the same schema". This finding, thus, demonstrates that there is much to be investigated in the field of Cognitive Linguistics that has been ignored.

Regarding *metaphoric chains*, they take place when "the target of one metaphor becomes the source of another" (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2017: 151). A clear example could be seen in the table below:

SOURCE	TARGET/SOURCE	TARGET
Animal's tentacles around something	Person's arms around something	A person has control over something

Figure 5. Metaphoric chain in "Obama wrapped his tentacles around everything, from healthcare to automobiles" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014)

Metonymic chains (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014: 117) are "chained combinations of two or more metonymies in which the expanded or reduced domain that results from a first metonymic operation constitutes the point of departure for another metonymic shift". Metonymy works within one conceptual domain where we can find an increase or *expansion* and a decrease or *reduction* in the conceptual material regarding the source domain. Expansion and reduction are two content operations applied to metonymy. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014: 93) define them as "reverse cognitive operations" that "broaden the amount of conceptual material that we associate with the initial point of access to a concept", as in the case of expansion or give "conceptual prominence to part of a concept", as in the case of reduction. Metonymic chains can constitute different combinational patterns taking into account the nature of the content operation applied. There are four main types (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014):

- Double metonymic reduction
- Double metonymic expansion
- Metonymic reduction plus metonymic expansion
- Metonymic expansion plus metonymic reduction

An instance of this kind of complex operation is derived from *Wall Street is in panic* (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa, 2014: 121):

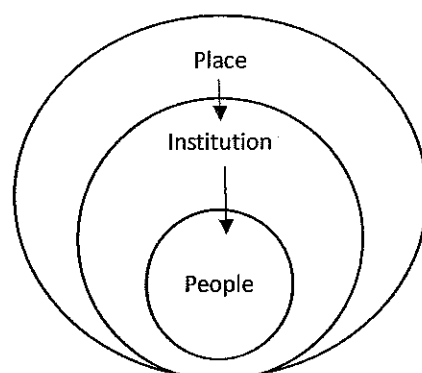


Figure 6. Double metonymic reduction: PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTITUTION

A further case of complex cognitive operation is *metaphtonymy*. This term was coined by Goossens (1990). Metaphtonymy consists in the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Developing Goossens's ideas, Ruiz de Mendoza (2017: 149) proposes four types of relationship between metaphor and metonymy:

- Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain
- Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target domain
- Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source domain
- Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target domain.

To have a nose for something is a case of metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source domain (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera Masegosa, 2014: 113):

SOURCE	TARGET
<p>A person's nose</p> <p style="text-align: center;">↓</p> <p style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">A person's sense of smelling</p>	<p>A person's intuition</p>

Figure 7. Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source domain in "to have a nose for something"

Complex cognitive operations are based mainly on metaphor and metonymy interaction. Nevertheless, there are other cognitive operations such as hyperbole worth investigating but ignored in Cognitive Linguistics literature in comparison to the attention paid to metaphor and metonymy. The notion of hyperbole in relation to Cognitive Linguistics has been studied in depth by Ruiz de Mendoza (2014)

and Ruiz de Mendoza and Peña (2017). Hyperbole is defined as a conceptual activity that uses the "increase magnitude as an imaginary mental scenario whose structure and logic is used to reason about a real-world state of affairs" (2017: 43). In the example *this suitcase weighs a ton*, it is a mapping between the imaginary situation in which the suitcase weighs a ton and the real situation in which it is heavy to lift for the speaker (2017: 52).

3.3. Constraints on metaphor

Constraints on metaphorical mappings have been paid little attention in Cognitive Linguistics. We will take Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández's (2011) ideas to address this issue. Constraints on metaphors resolve the problem of over-generating metaphors based on wrong assumptions. One initial attempt was Lakoff's (1993) *Invariance Principle*. This principle holds that the image-schematic structure of the source domain of a metaphor has to be preserved in a way that is consistent with corresponding structure in the metaphoric target. Ruiz de Mendoza (1998) further developed this principle and called it the *Extended Invariance Principle* (EIP), which has been redefined in later work by Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011: 180) as follows: "All meaning effects motivated by a low-level cognitive operation will preserve the generic level structure of the domains involved in the operation in a way consistent with their inherent structure". Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011) give the example of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in which there is no image schema involved but rather behaviour and physical attributes.

Regarding mappings between domains, Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011: 162) claim that "linguistic expressions making use of the metaphor usually focus on one of the correspondences but the other remain conceptually accessible so that they can be used in inferential processes when needed". If we say *we are at a crossroads* we are focusing our attention on one of the correspondences of the well-known metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY: difficulties in the (love) relationship are impediments to motion. The other correspondences are not in the spotlight but they can be accessed if required for further elaboration of the underlying metaphor. This is the case of *we are at a crossroads; we may have to turn back*, which further activates the second of the

correspondences in the pair PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD/REGRESS IS MOTION BACKWARD. In order to preserve all relevant correspondences in a mapping, Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011: 181) propose the *Mapping Enforcement Principle* (MEP). The idea behind this principle is that no item in a mapping system should be discarded if the meaning implications of the target domain so require. This principle underlies the production of metaphoric complexes (including amalgams and chains) like those discussed above. For example, in the expression *give a kick* we understand an action (kicking) in terms of a transfer of possession (giving an object). In his analysis of this expression Lakoff (1993) argued that when you give someone a kick the person that gets the kick has no possession of it. So, the source-domain element of possession has to be discarded. Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández (2011) argue against this analysis, since there is a figurative possession not of the kick but of the effects of the kick. This analysis adds an extra metonymic element to the target domain, which is necessary for relevant meaning implications to be captured by making the target of this metonymy (the effects of the kick) have a counterpart in the possession ingredient of the metaphoric source.

Finally, the third constraint is the *Correlation Principle* (CP) (Ruiz de Mendoza and Santibáñez Sáenz, 2003). This principle involves the sharing of "relevant implication structure" between target and source domain independently of the cognitive operation involved (correlation or comparison). In brief, this principle makes sure that speakers find the best possible source for any given target domain. For example, in LOVE IS A JOURNEY a slow relationship will require a slow vehicle in the source, while a fast relationship will require a fast vehicle. In ARGUMENT IS WAR a low-intensity argument may be identified with a skirmish, while a hot debate may be described in terms of a massive offensive or even all-out war.

These three constraints will help us to identify infelicitous metaphors in our analysis which is relevant to know the quality of the metaphors we are dealing with.

3.4. Culture and metaphor

The universality of metaphors has been accepted since cognitive linguists (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999) postulated the notion of embodiment as central to metaphoric thought. According to the philosophy of embodiment, which has received experimental support in psycholinguistics (Gibbs, 2006, 2007) and in the cognitive sciences in general (Lakoff, 2014), our bodily experiences shape and represent the knowledge we have about the world. Cognitive linguists generally argue that since the body is universal for people around the world, the knowledge we acquire through it is also universal. However, Kövecses (2005: 3) argues that variation in metaphor is as important as universality. To prove that, he provides a qualitative analysis of metaphors in different languages that vary from context to context. According to Kövecses (2005: 286), the notion of context encompasses the environment, the socio-cultural context, and the communicative situation. Our focus will be on the cultural context and communicative situation because it is relevant for our analysis.

Metaphor is a cognitive activity essential to understand language. Languages around the world are spoken in different contexts by people who live by different cultural values and beliefs and different social rules. Hence each language has metaphors that are specific to their culture. Kövecses (2015: 96) defines culture as: "a group of people living in a social, historical, and physical environment making sense of their experiences in a more or less unified manner". Cross-cultural analysis of metaphor provides evidence for variation in metaphor. To this end, Kövecses (2005: 64) analyses metaphors cross-culturally and he supports the view that metaphors based on universal experiences tend to be universal or at least near-universal. However, this is what an analysis at the generic level shows. Therefore, he also discusses metaphors at a more specific level to show that metaphors vary cross-culturally in different dimensions and from different perspectives although they are not unique metaphors (e.g. culturally unique source domain and culturally unique target domain) (Kövecses, 2005: 86). Some examples of metaphor variation addressed by Kövecses (2005: 3) are:

Love is conceptualized as a JOURNEY, UNITY, HUNTING, and so forth, in many cultures including English, Hungarian, and Chinese, but in certain dialects of Chinese LOVE IS FLYING A KITE (Yang, 2002); anger is understood as a fluid or gas in many cultures, but in Zulu anger is understood as OBJECTS IN THE HEART (Taylor and Mbense, 1998); life is commonly viewed as a JOURNEY or STRUGGLE, but in Hmong it is viewed as a STRING (Riddle, 2000).

As we can see from these examples, different languages conceptualize the same target domains through different source domains. This is what Kövecses (2005: 70) calls the "range of the target". One way of carrying out cross-cultural analysis could be by identifying the different sources for a target scenario (economy), as we will do in the analysis presented herein.

Regarding the communicative situation, we will take Kövecses's local contexts explanation given in his book *Where metaphors come from: Reconsidering context in metaphor* (2015). Kövecses (2015: 102) states that metaphors are influenced by immediate contexts (local contexts) which are: physical setting, knowledge about the main entities in the discourse, the immediate cultural context, the immediate social setting, and the immediate linguistic context. We are going to pay attention to two of these context, namely, the "knowledge about the main entities in the discourse" and the "immediate cultural context".

According to Kövecses (2015, 183) there are three main entities in discourse: the speaker, the hearer and the topic. He understands by topic "any kind of knowledge or information that is explicitly or implicitly conveyed by a piece of discourse". He assumes that knowledge about these entities gives rise to unconventional and novel metaphors and this leads to metaphorical creativity (ibid). The cultural context involves having knowledge about the shared experiences that are part of a particular culture in order to understand the conceptual metaphors that could arise from it. Taking into account contextual factors, Kövecses (2015: 114) argues that they tend to produce novel and unconventional metaphors making room for what he calls "context induced metaphors". These metaphors are based mainly on "resemblance between entities" but "what helps (triggers, prompts, etc.) us choose a source domain would be some contextual factor" (Kövecses, 2015: 116). Therefore, context determines the construction of these type of metaphors.

4. OBJECTIVES

The present study offers a cross-linguistic analysis of metaphors in two specific cultural contexts (Pakistani and English) in the domain of economy. As mentioned above, the analysis presented in this dissertation is based on selected economics articles in Urdu and two well-known English corpora: the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) and *British National Corpus* (BNC). We have established the following research objectives:

- (1) Offer an analysis of the cognitive operations underlying the metaphors selected in the Urdu language corpus.
- (2) Provide their English equivalents.
- (3) Explain the cultural implications of the aforementioned analysis.
- (4) Categorize the metaphors following the criteria which will be spelled out in section 5.3.

5. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

This section offers a brief description of our corpus, followed by the criteria for choosing it, and finally, the method for categorizing the Urdu metaphors depending on the degree of similarity to the English metaphors.

5.1. Corpus selection and description

The Urdu metaphors were taken from a well-known Pakistani website called *Hamari Web*. This website gathers news, articles, and columns on a variety of topics in English and Urdu. For the purposes of this dissertation we have chosen 20 Urdu articles on economy matters. Skorczynska and Deignan (2006) differentiate between *scientific business discourse* and *popular business discourse*. The former is oriented to an expert audience who seeks to do research on the matter. The latter is defined as follows: "journalistic texts that deal with current economic and business matters for an audience of experts and non-experts, and seek to inform and entertain more generally" (Skorczynska and Deignan, 2006: 89). Our corpus characteristics match the second definition.

As we have said previously, metaphors are at the core of communication. Therefore, it is possible to find a broad range of metaphors per paragraph. However, as we are interested in metaphors used to talk about economy, we will ignore other metaphors. Due to space constraints, we will also ignore metaphors that are repeated constantly to carry out a relevant analysis. This trims our corpus down to 10 Urdu metaphors. The selection of metaphors in each article have been carried out manually and the translations are provided by the author of this dissertation.

The equivalent English metaphors are taken from two widely-recognised corpora: the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). Galera Masegosa (2013: 21-22) characterizes these corpora as follows:

BNC

- Around 100 million words collected
- Compilations from journals, newspapers, popular fiction...
- Compilation date: 1991-1994

COCA

- Over 450 million words
- Compilation from magazines, newspapers, academic texts...
- Updated every year with more than 20 million words

In order to find the English equivalents; we have preferred not to restrict ourselves to a particular genre because of the limited data to work on and because there is not any guarantee that, in a limited number of articles, equivalent English metaphors to the Urdu metaphors will occur. For this reason, we have searched for two generic corpora that gather expressions used in any type of discourse and genre.

5.2. Criteria for corpus selection

The criteria followed for the selection of the Urdu articles (and the metaphors) and the English corpus are those of representativeness, variety, and ease of access.

- (a) Representativeness. As mentioned above, the articles chosen for this study are from *popular economic discourse* which makes them relevant as they will display notions of economy related to everyday language, more able to depict cultural related elements. In the case of the English corpora, COCA and BNC are recognised as the two major corpora in English language. The English metaphors depend on their Urdu counterparts because Urdu metaphors are taken as the base for the analysis.
- (b) Variety. Different types of metaphors are included in corpus to analyse in order to facilitate the formulation of adequate generalizations.
- (c) Ease of access. The sources for our data have been chosen because they are easily accessible and free of charge.

5.3. Methodology

Taking into consideration the qualitative nature of our work, we are going to carry out an inductive analysis: we will draw generalizations and formulate high-order principles intended to motivate them starting from the analysis of specific examples. Regarding the classification of metaphors, different taxonomies have been put forward (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989;

Kövecses, 2005; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández, 2011). However, these classifications are language-internal. As we are interested in examining the cross-cultural differences between Urdu metaphors and their English equivalents, we are going to choose the classification presented by Deignan et al (1997: 354). This classification originates in research seeking to help Polish students learn English metaphors. It is based on the following categories:

- Same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression.
- Same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression.
- Different conceptual metaphors.
- Words and expressions with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meanings.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. Analysis and discussion of Urdu and English metaphors

In this section, our main purpose is to fulfil objectives (1), (2) and (3). To this end we will comment each Urdu metaphor selected and its English equivalent together with the cultural differences that may appear.

We are going to start by addressing an example where Pakistan's economic situation is described through a metaphor related to the Islamic religion. The author puts it as follows:

- (1) People live in temples and nobody dies there because of hunger. They eat communal meals, fill their bellies, and time passes, life goes by. Pakistan have decided to eat communal meals instead of developing its own economic system.¹

As we can realise, temples are used to reason about the economic system of countries. We can see the mapping in Figure 8 below:

SOURCE	TARGET
Temples	Rich countries
Poor people	Government
Hunger	Underdeveloped economy
Communal meals	Debts

Figure 8. Set of mappings in the conceptual metaphor: DEBTS TAKEN FROM RICH COUNTRIES ARE COMMUNAL MEALS IN TEMPLES.

The metaphor underlying this piece of discourse is DEBTS TAKEN FROM RICH COUNTRIES ARE COMMUNAL MEALS IN TEMPLES. This is a creative metaphor based on cross-domain resemblance. Metaphors of this type are called *context-induced metaphors* by Kövecses (2015). They take two elements to be produced: resemblance between two domains and some contextual factor. We would understand resemblance by describing the source domain which corresponds to running a temple, required by the CP. In Pakistan the traditional

¹ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=28763> (Accessed 22/06/2017)

places for praying are mosques and temples. The difference between them is that believers pray directly to God in mosques while in temples they pray to saints (who act as intermediators before God). In temples, there are certain days in which communal meals are prepared for poor people who come to the temple. Some people already live there. Hunger revolves around them and therefore they try to get as much food as possible. Their lives depend on those communal meals and they are always expecting them eagerly. The author of the article takes this common situation in Pakistani culture to match it with the current Pakistani economic system.

Religion is very present in Pakistan's everyday life to the extent that it is highly unlikely not to find metaphors related to it in virtually any field. The contextual factor that triggers this creative metaphor is obvious, since it uses resemblance between an economic organization and the organization of temples together with the importance and relevance of the Islamic religion in Pakistan's culture. In Western culture, we can find the concept of charity run by organizations or churches. However, as is evident from our corpus searches, there is no evidence of a potential metaphoric connection between charity organization and economic organization.

Nevertheless, there is a similar metaphor within the translation presented above that does have a close linguistic equivalent in English, which is FILL BELLIES. This metaphor is conceptualized in both languages in a similar fashion. The Urdu metaphor is built on a domain expansion metonymy required by the MEP:

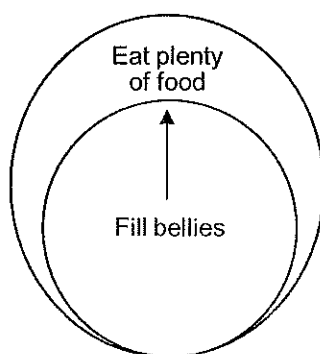


Figure 9. Domain expansion metonymy in FILLING BELLIES

This metonymic development becomes the source domain of a metaphor that maps the FILLING BELLIES (*pett bharna*) situation to one of receiving help for whatever basic needs. Example (1) shows the situation of Pakistan's government who is filling its belly with money from loans taken from rich countries and they do not care about giving it back or avoiding this situation. The meaning of *fill* is "to make or become full"². This verb is so powerful in this context because it implies that the government will not rest until they have obtained the largest amount of money they can get. The expression *filling bellies with money* is a case of conceptual integration, called *blending* by Fauconnier and Turner (2003). They define blending (58: 2003) as a "basic mental operation" which "construct(s) a partial match between two input mental spaces, to project selectively from those inputs into a novel 'blended' mental space, which then dynamically develops emergent structure". The target and the source domain in our examples are two mental spaces in which the source domain receives a target-domain element to emphasize the monetary nature of the help received, creating, thus, a novel *blended* mental space.

The English corpora attest the following example:

- (2) The countries of the European Community alone spend more than \$ 1 billion helping Africa build roads, plant saplings and fill bellies. (BNC)

English makes no use of metaphor in FILL THE BELLIES as we can see in Figure 10:

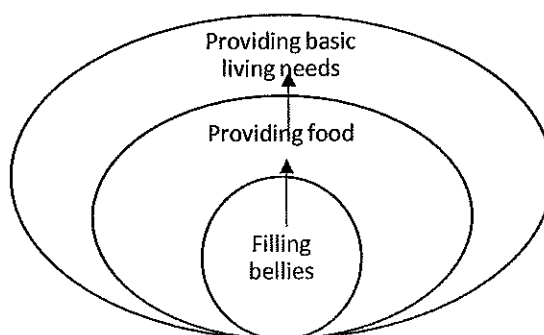


Figure 10. Metonymic chain: FILL THE BELLIES (2)

A metonymic chain is represented above which is formed by means of double metonymic expansion: FILLING BELLIES STANDS FOR PROVIDING FOOD

² <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/fill> (Accessed 22/06/2017)

and PROVIDING FOOD STANDS FOR PROVIDING BASIC LIVING NEEDS. Example (2) could alternatively be explained from a different perspective represented as in Figure 11:

SOURCE	TARGET
<div style="text-align: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">fill bellies</div> ↓ Provide food </div>	<div style="text-align: center;">Provide basic living needs</div>

Figure 11. Conceptual metaphor: FILL BELLIES (2)

This is a case of metaphonymy, in which a metaphor and a metonymy interact, as mentioned above. FILLING BELLIES stands for PROVIDING FOOD (TO FILL PEOPLE'S BELLIES) (MEP). This is a domain expansion metonymy which then maps metaphorically to PROVIDING BASIC LIVING NEEDS. Following Ruiz de Mendoza's (2017) more detailed classification, it is a case of metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain. Although both analyses, as represented in figures 10 and 11, are possible, the first one is probably a more accurate account since for a metaphor to take place, discreteness of the domains involved is necessary. Evidently, since food is a basic need, providing food can be considered a subdomain of catering for people's basic needs. However, in uses where feeding is used to reason about providing for less basic needs, a metaphor could be posited. In essence, whether we opt for one or the other solution will depend on the intended meaning of the expression in its use context.

The difference between FILL THE BELLIES in both languages depends on the different perspective given. This basic distinction lies on the fact that, Urdu gives it a negative axiology whereas English endows it with positive connotations. This difference is cultural. In the Pakistani culture, saving money is a deeply rooted habit. The preferred way to save money is to put it in a box from which nothing can be taken. By doing so, one's money will remain intact. The box used in this metaphor is the belly. Bellies are thus seen as secret containers of money used because of the image schematic construct underlying the notion of belly. The properties of a belly are ideal to save money that we are not willing to give back because nothing can be taken out (properly) from it once inside. Although, saving money is a characteristic of many other cultures, this habit acquires special

significance in a developing country such as Pakistan, which is financially more unstable than other countries. This instability underlies the meaning effects of this type of metaphor. This is different from what is the case in developed European countries. For this reason, while the latter fill others' bellies Pakistan is busy feeling its own bellies.

The next three examples are also related to asking for a loan and paying debts. A translation of the first Urdu example and its English counterpart is found in (3) below:

(3) a. Asking for loans is a basic need for Pakistan's rulers. They take a bowl in their hands and damage Pakistan's image in the world.³

b. One of the most enduring memories is of the Labour Government having to go to the International Monetary Fund, 'cap in hand', to ask for a loan to prop up the UK's sagging economy. But there is more to it than coming out with the begging bowl because of a particular crisis. (BNC)

In these examples, we figure out a matching between taking a loan and being a beggar. In (3a), we find two complex cognitive operations in interaction, required by the MEP. There is a metaphor ASKING FOR A LOAN IS BEGGING MONEY (*karz mangna beek mangna he*) whose source is enriched by a double metonymy:

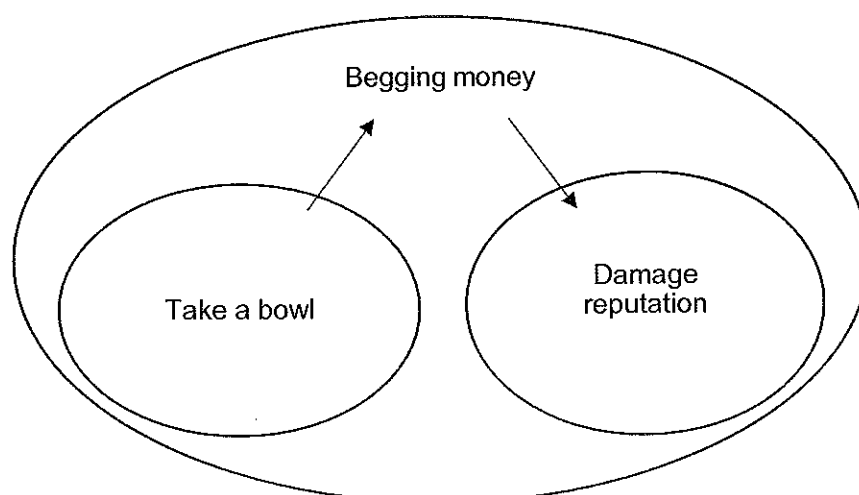


Figure 12. Metonymic expansion plus metonymic reduction in TAKE A BOWL (3a)

³ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=4599> (Accessed 22/07/2017)

TAKING A BOWL (*kashkol thamna*) implies BEGGING MONEY through metonymic expansion. Begging is an activity that generally nobody likes. One of the reasons not to like it is that it damages people's image. In this case, we have a metonymic reduction in which BEGGING MONEY STANDS FOR DAMAGING YOUR IMAGE (*naam khrab krna*). The double metonymy is thus formed by two designations or profiles of the same base domain (begging money). An alternative to the profile of DAMAGE YOUR IMAGE is DAMAGE YOUR REPUTATION, which is used in the analysis. The metonymic re-profiling of the source domain of the metaphor directs the hearer's attention to the element of the metaphoric target that has to be re-profiled. So, the profile-shifting of the metaphoric source has a profile-shifting in the metaphoric target. This is consistent with the fact that metaphoric sources are used to reason about target domains. Moreover, there is also a case of metaphonymy (metonymic expansion-reduction of a metaphoric source domain) again required by the MEP:

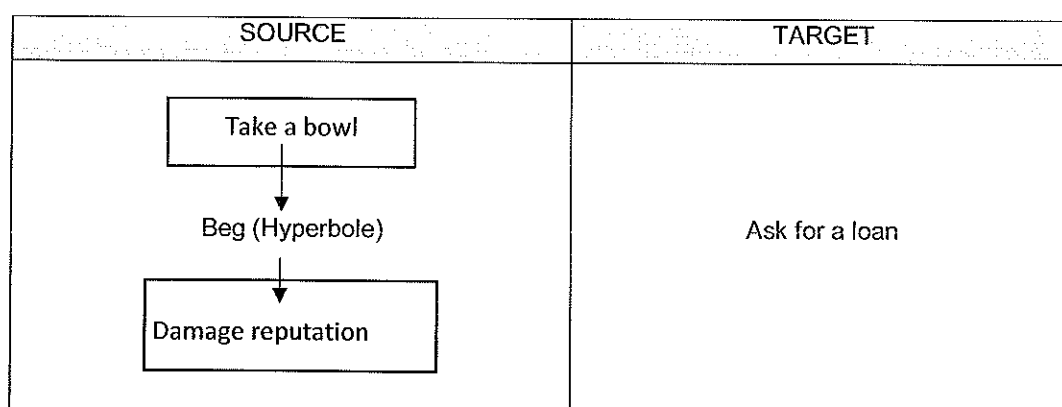


Figure 13. Conceptual metaphor ASKING FOR A LOAN IS BEGGING (3a)

Finally, it should be noted that mapping asking onto begging is a case of *hyperbolic metaphor*. Regarding this type of metaphors, Ruiz de Mendoza (2017: 156) asserts that they are used when "the source domain is used to emphasize a gradable attribute in the target domain". This operation is used to communicate the nature of *asking for a loan* as a highly negative action and that is why it is correlated to *begging*.

Example (3b) bears linguistic and conceptual similarity with the Urdu language example in (3a). The English government asked for loan from the International Monetary Fund which is equated with "coming out with the begging bowl". Therefore, ASKING FOR A LOAN IS COMING OUT WITH A BEGGING BOWL.

Moreover, there is another expression, specific to English language, which is *cap in hand*. This is a case of the metaphor ASKING FOR A LOAN IS GOING CAP IN HAND. Both metaphors have the same target domain. Their source domain is similar because in both cases a container is associated with the act of begging. The first example is similar to the one found in Urdu (see Figure 13). Regarding 'go cap in hand', it is an expression which derives from a conventionalized metonymy and it means "to ask someone for money or help in a way which makes you feel ashamed"⁴. The feeling of being ashamed arises from begging and that affects your reputation and this leads us to the same conceptual organization as in (3a) in which a metaphoric chain, a metaphonymy, and a metaphor are found in interaction (see Figures 12 and 13).

The difference between the expressions of both languages is that in Urdu the conceptualization of the cap is not used as a begging instrument. This is related to an important cultural factor which involves the way English people traditionally dress. The cap was an important part of men's dressing in England, which made it essential in their everyday lives. This has paved the way for the expression 'cap in hand'. In Urdu, this metonymic expression does not exist because the way people dress is different. They only use the metonymy of the *begging bowl*, as in English.

- (4) a. We have to trust in our resources to achieve economy development. But we tend to arrive at the doors of different institutions with our bowls who suck the blood of underdeveloped countries.⁵
- b. He said he has told President Obama that "If he undertook to stay in Afghanistan, it was going to suck dry his ability to fund any other domestic initiatives that he had" (COCA).

In (4a), the writer of the article depicts again the picture of an indebted Pakistan that asks for money from different institutions. These examples describe loan takers and loan providers. According to the example, Pakistan asks for loans from institutions. In the source domain, there is the metonymy, ARRIVING WITH A BOWL AT SOMEONE'S DOOR STANDS FOR BEGGING. Therefore, following

⁴ <http://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/go+cap+in+hand> (Accessed 06/07/2017)

⁵ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=53863> (Accessed 22/07/2017)

the MEP, we find a case metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain in which the metaphor is reinforced by a hyperbole (BEGGING IS ASKING) to convey the required meaning effect, i.e. to highlight the act of asking for a loan.

In order to describe loan providers, we find a metonymic relation between SUCK THE BLOOD (*khoon choosna*) and the source of the metaphoric scenario in Figure 14:

SOURCE	TARGET
Leech	Institution
Benefit from the nutrients	Benefit from giving a loan (interest)
Physical harm	Economy damage
Receivers of the harm	Underdeveloped countries

Figure 14. SUCK THE BLOOD (4a)

SUCK THE BLOOD stands for a scenario in which leeches feed on animals to benefit from the nutrients in their blood, thus doing harm to the animal. Following the CP, this maps onto the real-world scenario where institutions take advantage of underdeveloped countries by getting them into debt and damaging their economy. Therefore, there is a metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain. The source and target domain are based on resemblance attributes which pave the way for a context-induced metaphor.

Example (4b) matches the Urdu example (4a) but it offers a different context with its corresponding connotations. There is a metonymic relation between SUCK DRY and the source scenario of the metaphor in Figure 15:

SOURCE	TARGET
Leech	Staying in Afghanistan
Benefits from the nutrients	Benefits from staying in Afghanistan (political, military)
Physical harm	Damage to US economy
Object of harm	Obama

Figure 15. SUCK DRY (4b)

Within the target domain there are two parallel cases of metonymic reductions that have to be taken into account: OBAMA FOR U.S. ARMY and OBAMA FOR

U.S. ECONOMY. Therefore, the target of the metaphor is enriched by double metonymic reduction:

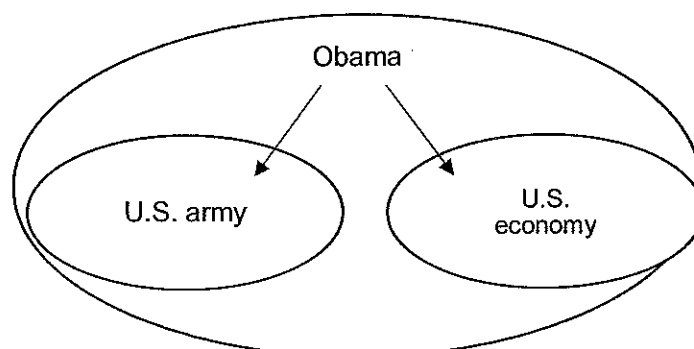


Figure 16. Metonymic reduction: OBAMA FOR U.S. ARMY FOR U.S. ECONOMY (4b)

This metonymic chain enriches the target domain of the metaphor in Figure 15. Therefore, it is part of a metaphonymy: double metonymic reduction of the metaphoric target domain. In addition, there is a metonymic expansion of the metaphoric target domain which corresponds to STAY IN AFGHANISTAN for a scenario in which the U.S. army is staying in Afghanistan for political or military purposes. Their stay has to be paid by U.S. government (or institutions which manage money) and therefore money will be spent to the extent that the government will run out of it. This leads to the idea that the government's "ability to fund any other domestic activity" will be gone and this is the result of SUCK DRY. Therefore, the benefits and the harm of staying in Afghanistan (*leech*) are both for OBAMA (see Figure 15). The connotation that is not found in Urdu is that SUCK DRY involves a hyperbolic metaphor in which the resultative adjective dry implies the absence of blood as the completion of the action. Since it is an impossibility for someone's blood to be removed completely, the use of this expression falls within the range of Extreme Case Formulations as defined by Norrick (2004) which pragmaticists have studied in their role of enhancing communicative impact.

A leech's saliva is commonly believed to contain anaesthetic compounds that numb the bitten area. The prey, thus, will not realise that its blood is being sucked and will only feel the harm later on. This has meaning effects that we associate to the target on the basis of the CP. In (4a) the countries do not realise that institutions are taken advantage of. They are numbed through money loans. However, at that precise moment they do not realise that they have to pay the

loan back together with the interest. They figure out the damage to their economy when it is too late. A leech's prey also feels physical harm once its blood has been sucked out. Similarly, in (4b) Obama does not realise the damage the U.S. economy will suffer if the army stays in Afghanistan. He is numbed by the immediate benefits it will carry out.

(5) a. Debts will be paid by draining the blood of poor people.⁶

b. The cover of a recent collection of articles compiled by Kilgore shows blacks toiling away as a white man in a suit drains blood from Africa into a bucket labelled "World Bank". (COCA)

Figuratively, the next example, (5a), conveys the idea that the government will drain poor people's blood in order to pay back the debts. Taking this into account we can refer to a source which is built metonymically (required by the MEP): DRAINING BLOOD (*khoon nachorna*) stands for DEPRIVING (SOMEBODY) FROM LIFE. However, the intention of the government is not to kill people in order to pay debts but to deprive them from living resources. Since blood is a very precious life resource, there is an underlying hyperbole which is only activated when applied to the target. The aforementioned metonymy is then, an expansion of the metaphoric source domain and the mapping of the metaphor will look as follows:

SOURCE	TARGET
Deprive from life (Hyperbole)	Take away money
Weapon used to deprive from life	Debts
Users of the weapon	Pakistani government
Receivers of the harm	Poor people

Figure 17. DRAIN THE BLOOD (5a)

Debts are the reason why the government will deprive people from basic living resources which stand for money. There is resemblance between the two domains analysed. Ultimately, the government will use up every single resource in order to pay the debts back, any other solution to this problem being unrealistic.

⁶ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=34883> (Accessed 22/07/2017)

Example (5b) deals with an image represented in the cover of a journal. This image represents black men working arduously while white men drain blood from Africa into a bucket. This depiction is based on the combination of several cognitive operations that help to flesh out the meaning impact of the DRAIN BLOOD metaphor. First, AFRICA stands for AFRICAN PEOPLE (metonymic reduction) while the WHITE MAN IN A SUIT stands for POWERFUL WESTERN PEOPLE (metonymic expansion). This metonymy is based on the usual association between a person's attire and social rank. In turn, conceptualizing Africa as a whole, and the Western world as one entity shows the power that the Western World has over Africa. The bucket into which the blood is drained stands for the World Bank (metonymic expansion). This conceptual association is grounded in our knowledge about slaughter practises, which often involve draining the animal's blood, which is spilled into a bucket (a type of container) to be used later. Interestingly, a bank, as a repository of money, can be conceptualized as a container. Their work is understood in terms of the benefits of their work which is understood as money (CAUSE FOR EFFECT). Black men's blood, thus, is understood in terms of their lives and, as in the Urdu example, BLOOD stands for LIFE and DRAINING BLOOD for DEPRIVING (SOMEBODY) FROM LIFE (see Figure 17). Therefore, Western people take the benefits of black men's work and they transfer them to the World Bank in the form of money. The World Bank is represented as a bucket and shares with it the logic of the container. Considering these complex cognitive operations (c.f. the MEP), DRAIN BLOOD involves a metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain as depicted in Figure 18 below:

SOURCE	TARGET
Deprive somebody from life (Hyperbole)	Take away their money
Deprivers of life	Western people
Benefits of the deprived lives	World Bank
Sufferers	Black people

Figure 18. DRAIN THE BLOOD (5b)

In both examples (5a and 5b) the metaphors are conceptualized similarly although there some differences in the mappings involved. In both examples, we

can find hyperbolic metaphors which map life with benefits or resources which stand for money. In both cases, resemblances are established between a real-world scenario where somebody is abused (poor people or black people) and depriving of life. The DRAIN BLOOD scenario is impacting to the extent that it conveys the injustice or abuse of people in power over poor people. This impact is higher due to the hyperbolic nature of the metaphor. In both examples (5a and 5b) the CP and EIP cooperate to create perfect source target matches.

The following three examples deal with the negative aspects of debts in the two languages.

(6) a. Our country is sunken into debt.⁷

b. Banks are trying to become more aggressive in spotting consumers sinking into debt early so that their loans don't end up as write-offs.
(COCA)

In these two examples, our point of analysis is focused on the expression *sink into debt* (*karzey me doobna*). In both languages, it is conceptualized by the logic of the container. Debt can be seen as if it were a container according to the primary metaphor ABSTRACT ENTITIES ARE CONTAINERS. To be in a container could imply a positive or a negative axiology. Debt has a negative value in every culture because it involves money that one has to pay back. Sinking is also negative because when a person sinks into water it is difficult to take her or him out. Moreover, sinking implies lack of control over your situation. Therefore, the expression as a whole has a negative axiology which corresponds to the idea that DEBT IS A CONTAINER, from which, once sunken, it is difficult to get out. In (6a) a whole country (Pakistan) is said to be sunk into debt, where by country we mentonymically understand the economy institutions of the country (c.f. the MEP). In (6b) consumers sank into the container of debt. In English, there is a host of expressions whose meaning falls within the range of GET INTO DEBT, but with different meaning implications. Sometimes, the debt payer makes himself go into debt or he is not aware of the fact that he is going into debt (e.g. *fall into debt*) but sometimes somebody pushes him into debt. However, in Urdu,

⁷ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=34883> (Accessed 25/06/2017)

there are only two expressions, which can be translated as *sink into debt* (*karzey me doobna*) and *be under debt* (*karzey ke neechey ana*). In the latter, debt is seen as a burden that is squashing the debt payer because of its weight. This expression is also found in English but with a higher meaning effect which is: to be buried under debt. The weight of the debt goes to the extent that it buries the debt payer. By taking into account these different variants of *sinking into debt*, we realise that English has gradable variants of the same expression (from *go into debt* to *be buried under debt*) following the CP while Urdu makes use of two strong expressions. In Pakistan debts are seen more negatively than in the English culture, which makes their impact always higher. As a formerly undeveloped country, which is currently in development, Pakistan feared and fears debts. That is why there are no low impact expressions in relation to debt. In English-speaking countries, this is not the case. They treat debt as part of human life which may only require focal action in some situations that are controlled by expert economists.

(7) a. Economy is stuck in the filth of debt interest.⁸

b. There is no doubt that debt and debt interest that we're paying has had a major negative impact on our economy. (COCA)

(7a) presents the picture of debt interest as filth. In Pakistani culture, interests on debt (or anything) are penalised by God so it is considered a major sin. The Quran (2: 275) puts it as follows:

Those who consume interest cannot stand [on the Day of Resurrection] except as one stands who is being beaten by Satan into insanity. That is because they say, "Trade is [just] like interest." But Allah has permitted trade and has forbidden interest. So whoever has received an admonition from his Lord and desists may have what is past, and his affair rests with Allah. But whoever returns to [dealing in interest or usury] - those are the companions of the Fire; they will abide eternally therein.⁹

Any immoral behaviour is a sin. Therefore, debt interest is filth. Since sins are immoral, debt interest is immorality. This constitutes a single-source amalgam grounded in a cultural factor related to religion:

⁸ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=10935> (Accessed 10/06/2017)

⁹ <https://quran.com/2/275-281> (Accessed 10/06/2017)

SOURCE 1	TARGET 1
Filth	Debt interest
SOURCE 2	TARGET 2
Sin	Immorality

Figure 19. Single-source amalgam for DEBT INTEREST IS FILTH (7a)

The cultural factor lies on the fact that debt interest is a sin. In the Islamic religion, moral and immoral behaviour is commanded by God. Muslim people believe that everything God commands is moral and everything He labels as a sin is immoral. Debt interest is considered immoral because it is believed to be a form of injustice towards the debt payer who has to pay back more money than he has received. However, the starting point for seeing it as an immoral activity is that it is forbidden by God. Considering that, a single-source amalgam grounded in resemblance properties comes into being in which SIN IS IMMORALITY is included in DEBT INTEREST IS FILTH.

In (7b) there is no metaphor involved. The example has been chosen to show that debt interest is not a negative factor only in Islamic religion but also the Western world is aware of the fact of its shortcomings. However, it is not seen as a sin, thus, it is not an immoral action. Therefore, if there is an example in which debt interest is compared to filth, this will happen on the basis of the metaphor: ANY UNDESIRABLE SITUATION IS FILTH. This metaphor originates in a correlation of experiences in which the feelings of a situation of filth (undesirable) and other uncomfortable situations that arouse the same feelings are conflated. The resemblance between the feelings (the effects) makes us assume (erroneously) that there is a similarity of causes and from this resemblance stems the metaphor ANY UNDESIRABLE SITUATION IS FILTH. This metaphor could be also applied to (7a) if we only take the first part of the sentence: economy is stuck in filth. An economic situation which a person cannot escape is highly undesirable and is thus seen as filth. Due to the cultural factors involved, the EIP discards the correlational experience in (7a) and following the CP, mappings between source and target domain are created.

(8) a. There is a mountain of debts in the path of economy development.¹⁰

b. Unfortunately, most people don't have \$ 10,000 sitting idle; that's just one reason they're facing a mountain of credit debt.

Economic development has been stopped by a *mountain of debts* (*karzoo ka ek pahar*) (8a). Economic development goes through a path. This triggers the primary metaphor GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS from which stems the correspondences PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD and DIFFICULTIES TO PROGRESS ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION. A mountain is the impediment for economy progress; it is an obstacle. It stands for a scenario in which the characteristics of a mountain and their consequent difficulties are highlighted:

SOURCE	TARGET
Mountain	Debt
Difficult to climb	Difficult to pay back
Do not move	Do not end easily

Figure 20. MOUNTAIN OF DEBTS (8a)

The scenario represented in the source domain (Figure 20) gives rise to a metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source domain which is required by the MEP. This metaphor is grounded in resemblance properties between a mountain and debts. However, resemblance underlies a correlational experience derived from the concepts of goal and destination. Achieving a goal and arriving at a destination are conflated in the mind because there are situations in which a goal can be only fulfilled by travelling to a destination (e.g. when someone has to emigrate to another more prosperous country to make a living). Situations of this kind are common to the extent that the notion of goal and destination become one in our minds. Figuratively, the government has to "climb a mountain" or "make a tunnel" through it in order to get rid of the debts which means that they have to make great efforts to overcome this impediment in the path of economic development. In (8b) a similar conceptual analysis is found. In the English example the *mountain of debt* would be faced by Lithuania. The verb *to face*

¹⁰ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=85406> (Accessed 11/06/2017)

means 'to compete with, come up against or fight something', among other meanings. Therefore, the mountain is seen as an obstacle or opponent that has to be dealt with and left behind. Something is left behind when there is path involved and a destination to reach. Hence, as in (8a), the metaphor GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS is involved (see Figure 16). Nevertheless, it is important to note that in (8b) there is the added connotation of mountains as opponents that use their own properties as IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION. The CP only activates those mappings that are relevant in the understanding of both metaphors by taking into account their respective contexts.

The difference between Urdu and English metaphoric expressions is prompted by the economic situation of the different countries but it also hinges on the situational context. In (8a) there is humble attitude towards the mountain with an underlying feeling of respect whereas in (8b) the mountain is an opponent that has to be defeated. The expression to face (*samna karna*) exists in Urdu but it is not used together with the word debt. Pakistan, as a developing country, is not in the position of competing with debt as an equal. This also demonstrates the lack of confidence that Pakistani people had and have over their own economic system. In (8b), a low-scale situation is depicted compared to the situation in (8a). Credit card debts cannot be paid *sitting idle* is the idea conveyed in the example. It involves irony, which has been studied by Ruiz de Mendoza (2017) from a cognitive perspective. Ruiz de Mendoza (2017) argues that irony occurs when two incompatible scenarios clash. One of the scenarios makes echoic mention of someone's previous thoughts, while the other is based on the real observation as observed. This proposal is a development of previous work on irony by relevance theorists within inferential pragmatics (e.g. Wilson and Sperber, 2012). Relevance theorists have argued that irony is the result of echoing a thought while holding a dissociative attitude. Ruiz de Mendoza (2017) provides a more comprehensive explanation that recognises the operational nature of echoing thoughts and adds the existence of a clash (involving a contrasting operation) between scenarios. It is from this clash that we derive (and determine the nature of) the attitudinal element (which can be one of scepticism, upset, mockery, etc.). In (8b) there is an observed scenario which is based upon the obvious statement that money does not come sitting idle and sitting idle is one of the reasons for not being able to pay debts back. There is an echoed scenario according to which

this is not an obvious situation and it is necessary to be stated. It is strengthened by a metaphor-based hyperbole that upscales the metaphoric source in IMPORTANT IS BIG, according to which debts are not as big as a mountain. Therefore, the speaker's (or writer's) perspective of the situation clashes with the observed scenario thereby denoting the speaker's dissociative attitude that underlies irony.

The following examples focuses on the transient nature of money in relation to economy:

- (9) Economy was affected, in part, by the East-Indian company. This gold-bird looted everything from Pakistan and then it was transferred to Britain.¹¹

Example (9) presents a situation in which a company has acquired money illegally from one place that has then been transferred to another. The company is compared to a gold bird and that allows us to state that COMPANIES ARE GOLD BIRDS. In turn, COMPANY stands for THE VALUE OF THE COMPANY AND GOLD BIRDS for THE VALUE OF GOLD (which means money). These two metonymies give rise to two metaphonymies: metonymic reduction of both the metaphoric target and source, which is a pattern that has not been dealt with in Ruiz de Mendoza (2014, 2017). The identification of this pattern adds to the previous work on metaphor-metonymy interaction, thus further testifying to the pervasiveness of metonymic thinking in figuration. In this complex mapping, the characteristics of birds are matched to the characteristics of companies, as we can see in Figure 21:

SOURCE	TARGET
Value of gold birds	Value of company
Birds slip away	Value of the company is transient
Birds loot	People loot
Birds are caged	People are jailed
Birds fly from one place to another	Company is transferred from Pakistan to Britain

Figure 21. COMPANIES ARE GOLD BIRDS (9)

¹¹ <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=10935> (Accessed 10/06/2017)

Birds involve a scenario which is correlated to a company's transactions through the CP. There are two further metonymies in the target domain of the metaphor which are: COMPANY FOR PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THE COMPANY and COMPANY FOR COMPANY BUILDING. These metonymies also involve metonymic reductions of the metaphoric target domain. There is one element of the target that does not match to the source, which is *people loot*. Generally, birds do not steal, but if we talk of a kind of a bird like crows, for instance, then, through the CP, this implicational element will be an adequate match for *people loot* (BIRD FOR CROW). This is consistent with the idea that the context of a given piece of discourse influences the choice of mappings between target and source domains, a point that could be treated in connection with what Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez (2003), Ruiz de Mendoza (2011), and Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2014) have called *cueing* cognitive operations. In these studies, cueing is only given a conceptual role that arises from syntactic combination; for example, in *wear cat* versus *eat cat* the verbal predicate cues for the activation of different profiles of the notion 'cat', the fur and the meat respectively. But the discussion of our examples above strongly suggests the existence of *contextual cueing*. In English, no such correspondence is attested in our corpus within the field of economy, although the expression *money flies* (BNC) has been used to express the transient nature of money.

The last example to analyse focuses on the idea of economic development:

(10) a. The economy of Pakistan will run upwards.¹²

b. It's the Clinton years, when the economy is booming and there's really nothing to worry about domestically or internationally. (COCA)

Example (10a) figuratively describes the improvement in the development of economy (*oopr ki tarif dorrna*). Running, which implies quick motion, takes the positive axiology of the metaphor MORE IS UP, which integrates the metaphor PROGRESS IS MOTION, which is grounded in the correlational metaphor GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS:

¹² <http://www.hamariweb.com/articles/article.aspx?id=63987> (Accessed 10/06/2017)

SOURCE 1	TARGET 1
Up	More
SOURCE 2	SOURCE 2
Motion	Progress

Figure 22. Single-source amalgam for MORE IS UP (10a)

Figure 22 represents the single-source metaphoric amalgam underlying example (10a), in which motion upwards corresponds to increasing progress.

In example (10b) a completely different picture of economic development is captured with the expression *The economy is booming*. Boom is the sound of an explosion, which involves an outburst and cues for the metonymy SOUND OF EXPLOSION FOR EXPLOSION (the MEP is active). Explosions blow things apart violently and they involve a sudden emission of matter and particles to a distance from the core of the object which travel fast into the air. This event maps metaphorically onto one of sudden progress in economy which is at the same time fast and impacting. There is also a conceptual association with the idea of increase. On image-schematic grounds, the traveling of particles through the air is visualized as an increase in size. This grounding licenses the use of this conceptual complex as a metaphoric source domain, which gives rise to a metaphonymy: a metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source domain. The various complex cognitive operations in the source and target domains of the metaphor are triggered by the MEP. The metaphor used in example (10b) is SUDDEN PROGRESS IS SUDDEN MOTION, which is similar to the Urdu metaphor. However, this metaphor is exploited differently in both languages as a result of the choice of the source domains. Both source domains imply a different speed in economic development. Running in (10a) is not as fast as particles travelling through air in (10b). When somebody runs, he can get tired and takes breaks. However, after an explosion particles travel very fast in multiple directions without stopping, thus reaching a large amount of locations in very little time. Again, here, the economic situation of Pakistan is involved. Pakistan's economy does not expect a sudden development but only some kind of development that could bring even little benefit to economy. In (10b) president Clinton's time is reminded as one of the best in US economy development because it brought a sudden prosperity to the country. Pakistan is still hoping for a booming economy.

6.2. Classification of the metaphors under analysis

As stated in section 5.3., the classification by Deignan et al (1997: 354) has been chosen in order to classify the metaphors that have already been analysed in section 6.1. This classification allows us to categorize metaphors according to their linguistic and conceptual differences in Urdu and English. Figure 23 groups the metaphors into the four categories mentioned above:

Same conceptual expression and equivalent linguistic expression	Same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression	Different conceptual metaphor	Words and expressions with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meaning
(1), (2), FILL THE BELLIES (pett bharna)	(4a), (4b) SUCK THE BLOOD (khoon choosna) / SUCK DRY	(3a), (3b) ASKING FOR A LOAN IS BEGGING MONEY (karza mangna beek mangna he) / ASKING FOR A LOAN IS GOING CAP IN HAND	(1). DEBTS TAKEN FROM RICH COUNTRIES ARE COMMUNAL MEALS IN TEMPLES (darbar ka langar)
(3a), (3b) ASKING FOR A LOAN IS BEGGING MONEY (karza mangna beek mangna he)		(10a), (10b) ECONOMY IS RUNNING UPWARDS (mayshat oopr ki trf dorr rahi he) / ECONOMY IS AN EXPLOSION	(7a) DEBT INTEREST IS FILTH (karzey par sood gandgi he)
(5a), (5b) ECONOMIC INJUSTICE IS DRAINING BLOOD (maashi nainsafee khoon nachorna he)			(9) COMPANIES ARE GOLD BIRDS (kampny soney ki chirya he)
(6a), (6b) TO BE SUNKEN INTO			

DEBT (<i>karzey me doobna</i>)			
(8a), (8b) DEBTS ARE MOUNTAINS (<i>karzey ek pahar hen</i>)			

Figure 23. Classification of metaphors analysed in Section 6.1.

The first category in Figure 23 is *same conceptual metaphor and equivalent linguistic expression*. Five of our examples belong to this category because they share their conceptual and linguistic features. First, FILL THE BELLIES in examples (1) and (2) share their conceptual schema but they have some axiological differences that are triggered by the situational context. Second, example (3) involves an Urdu expression and two English expressions. Within this category lies the metaphor ASKING FOR A LOAN IS BEGGING (BEGGING BOWL for BEGGING) that are shared in both languages. Examples (5a) and (5b) highlight the metaphor ECONOMIC INJUSTICE IS DRAINING BLOOD, which also fall in this category. Examples (6a) and (6b), DEBTS ARE CONTAINERS, and (8a) and (8b), DEBTS ARE MOUNTAINS, share conceptual material but with some of their meaning connotations being influenced by the lexical differences that come from a related cultural background.

The second category is: *same conceptual metaphor but different linguistic expression*. Only (4a) and (4b) are labelled under this category: SUCK THE BLOOD in Urdu, and SUCK DRY in English. Both metaphors share their conceptual makeup. However, their linguistic expression is different. In Urdu, it is more specific, whereas in English it involves more implicational activity together with a hyperbolic connotation given by the notion of 'dry'.

Within the third category, which gathers *different conceptual metaphors*, examples (3b) and (10a) and (10b) are found. As mentioned above, (3b) contains two English expressions. In this category we have ASKING FOR A LOAN IS GOING CAP IN HAND. This expression does not have an Urdu equivalent because of a cultural factor that has been discussed in Section 6.1. (10a) (*Economy is running upwards*) and (10b) (*economy is booming*) use different linguistic expressions that follow different metaphorical conceptualizations but they convey a similar meaning.

Finally, the fourth category gathers *words and expressions with similar literal meaning but different metaphorical meanings*. In this category fall example (1), (7a) and (9). Examples (1) (DEBTS ARE COMMUNAL MEALS) and (7a) (DEBT INTEREST IS FILTH) have no English counterpart because they are context-induced metaphors grounded in a different religious background. We have not found an English counterpart related to the topic of economy for example (9) (COMPANIES ARE GOLD BIRDS) although *money flies* appears to be a relevant metaphor in other types of discourse.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The present dissertation has provided a cross-linguistic analysis of corpus-based metaphors in Urdu and English related to the field of economy from a cognitive-linguistic perspective. The analysis has been carried out by examining and explaining the differences and similarities between the Urdu metaphors and their counterparts from a contextual and conceptual point of view. The contextual perspective focuses on the cultural and situational differences between metaphors in both languages. The conceptual perspective has shed light on the relevance of complex cognitive operations (e.g. metaphonymy, metaphoric amalgams, metaphoric and metonymic chains). It has also evidenced the importance of hyperbole as a cognitive operation. Linguistic and conceptual differences are illustrated by means of a classification (see Section 6.2.).

By taking into account the overall picture of our analysis, three main findings arise from the present research. First, cultural differences affect the way we think metaphorically on economy in Urdu and English; second, complex cognitive operations are proved to be found in different languages; and third, cultural differences are not decisive in our metaphorical thinking on economy in Urdu and English. There are other factors, such as the presence of experiential correlations or the globalised nature of economy, which influence the conceptual grounding of the metaphors in our sample. In the light of the aforementioned outcomes, our dissertation has implications on two levels: economy transactions and teaching ESP. In the last decades, the globalisation of economy has experienced an exponential growth. As we have seen, figurative language is pervasive in the language of economy. Therefore, cross-linguistic studies dealing with figurative language will be helpful to avoid misunderstanding on high level economic transactions that could lead to big financial losses. Teaching English to economy students is another important implication to consider. Metaphors have been considered to be helpful in teaching economic English due to the vast amount of figurative language used in this field (see Section 2.2). Hence, it would be a good way to acquire linguistic and conceptual knowledge at the same time.

Further research is needed to establish a pattern in the differences and similarities encountered between the two languages. The preliminary findings lend strong support to the proposals on cognitive operations and conceptual

complexes made by Ruiz de Mendoza (2011, 2017). To my knowledge this is the first time that these proposals are the object of systematic cross-linguistic analysis, which then adds to the other standards of adequacy sought for by these studies, among them cognitive, pragmatic, and discourse adequacy (see Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2014, for in-depth discussion of such standards). Finally, like every preliminary study, there are theoretical challenges. Among them, we would like to mention the need to study metaphors cross-linguistically using a fully contextualized large-scale corpus sample. This is necessary in order to carry out an extensive analysis on cultural and conceptual differences not only in the field of economy, but also in any other field. It is the author's hope that the present preliminary analysis will have at least paved the way for more ambitious studies of this kind.

8. REFERENCES

8.1. Bibliography

- Alejo, R. (2010). Where does the money go? An analysis of the container metaphor in economics: the market and economy. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 1137-1150.
- Boers, F. (2000). Enhancing metaphoric awareness in specialised reading. *English for Specific Purposes*, 19, 137-147.
- Boers, F., & Demecheleer, M. (1997). A few metaphorical models in (Western) economic discourse. In W. Liebert, G. Redeker & L. Waugh (Eds.), *Discourse and perspective in cognitive linguistics*. (pp. 115-129) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Charteris-Black, J. (2000). Metaphor and vocabulary teaching in ESP economics. *English for Specific Purposes*, 19, 149-165.
- Charteris-Black, J., & Ennis, T. (2001). A comparative study of metaphor in Spanish and English financial reporting. *English for Specific Purposes*, 20, 249-266.
- Deignan, A., Gabrys, D., & Solska, A. (1997). Teaching English metaphors using cross-linguistic awareness-raising activities. *ELT Journal*, 51, 351-360.
- Dirven, R., & Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. (2010). Looking back at 30 years of Cognitive Linguistics. In E. Tabakowska, M. Choiński, & Ł. Wiraszka (Eds.), *Cognitive Linguistics in action. From theory to application and back* (pp. 13-70). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fillmore, C. (1976). Frame semantics and the nature of language. *Annals of the New York Academy of sciences*, 280 (1), 20-32.
- Galera, Masegosa, A. (2013). Grounding the constructional architecture of the lexical constructional model in cognition: implications for the development of a knowledge base. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of La Rioja, Spain.
- Gibbs, R. W. (1999). Taking metaphor out of our heads and putting it into the cultural world. In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (pp. 146-166). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Gibbs, R. W. (2006). Metaphor interpretation as embodied simulation. *Mind & Language*, 21(3), 434-458.
- Gibbs, R. W. (2007). Experimental tests of figurative meaning construction. In G. Radden, K. M. Köpcke, T. Berg & P. Siemund (Eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction* (pp. 19-32). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Gibbs, R. W. (2011). Evaluating Conceptual Metaphor Theory. *Discourse Processes*, 48(8), 529-562.
- Goldberg, A. (2006). *Constructions at work. The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- González-García, F., Peña Cervel, S., & Pérez-Hernández, L. (Eds.). (2013). *Metaphor and Metonymy revisited beyond the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Grady, Joseph. (1999). A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: Correlation vs. Resemblance. In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.). *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 79-100). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Herrera-Soler, H., & White, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Metaphor and Mills: Figurative language in business and economics*. Berlin & Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2006). *Language, mind and culture: a practical introduction*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor. A practical introduction*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2015). *Where metaphors come from. Reconsidering context in metaphor*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (1999). Metaphor: Does it constitute or reflect cultural models? In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 167-188). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lakoff, G. (1986). *Women, fire and dangerous things*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (202-252). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G. (2014). Mapping the brain's metaphor circuitry: metaphorical thought in everyday reason. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 8, 1-14.

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. & Kövecses, Z. (1987). The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English. In D. Holland & N. Quinn (Eds.), *Cultural models in Language and Thought* (pp. 195-221). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G. & Turner, M. (1989). *More than a cool reason: a field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to Western thought*. New York: Basic Books.

Langendoen, Terrence. (1968). *The London School of Linguistics: A Study of the Linguistic Theories of B. Malinowski and J.R. Firth*. Cambridge, MA: MIT

Maalej, Z., & Yu, N. (Eds.). (2011). *Embodiment via body parts: Studies from various languages and cultures* [Human Cognitive Processing, Vol. 31]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Norrick, N. R. (2004). Hyperbole, extreme case formulation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 36(9), 1727-1739

Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. (2011). Metonymy and cognitive operations. In R. Benczes, A. Barcelona, & F. J. Ruiz de Mendoza (Eds.), *Defining metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics. Towards a consensus view* (pp. 103-123). Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. (2017). Metaphor and other cognitive operation in interaction from basicity to complexity. In B. Hampe (Ed.), *Metaphor: Embodied Cognition and Discourse*, (pp. 138-159) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruiz de Mendoza F.J., & Galera M. A. (2011). Going beyond metaphonymy: Metaphoric and metonymic complexes in phrasal verb interpretation. *Language Value* 3(1), 1-29.

Ruiz de Mendoza, F.J., & Galera M. A. (2014). *Cognitive Modelling. A linguistic perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J., & Ota, J. L. (2002). *Metonymy, grammar and communication*. Granada: Comares.

- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J. & Pérez Hernández L. (2011). The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: Myths, Developments and Challenges. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 26(3), 161-185.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F.J. & Santibáñez F. (2003). Content and formal cognitive operations. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 2(15), 293-320.
- Skorczynska, H., & Deignan, A., (2006). Readership and purpose in the choice of economic metaphors. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 21(2), 87-104.
- Wilson, D., & Sperber, D. (2012). Explaining irony. In D. Wilson, & D. Sperber (Eds.), *Meaning and Relevance* (pp. 123-145). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1995). *Relevance. Communication and cognition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- White, M. (2003). Metaphor and economics: the case of growth. *English for Specific Purposes*, 22, 131-151.
- Whorf, B. L. (1940). *Science and Linguistics*
http://jraissati.com/PHIL256/15_Whorf%201940.pdf (Accessed 17/06/2017)
- Yu, Ning. (2003). Metaphor, body and culture: the Chinese understanding of gallbladder and courage. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 18 (1), 13-31.
- Yu, Ning. (2008). *The Chinese heart in a cognitive perspective: Culture, body, and language*. Berlin: Mouton.

8.2. Internet sources

- <http://hamariweb.com/> (Accessed 06/07/2017)
- <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/> (Accessed 06/07/2017)
- <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/> (Accessed 06/07/2017)

9. APPENDIX

- (1) *Mezaroo par bhi log parrey rehtey hen, koi bookh se mar to nahi jata. Langar milta he, pett bharta he, zindagi ka fasla te ho jata he. Pakistan ne ye te kar lya he ke mayshat ko chla kar guzr basr na ki jaey balkey mayshat ke mezar ka langar khaya jaey.*

ENGLISH VERSION: People live in temples and nobody dies there because of hunger. They eat communal meals, *fill their bellies*, and time passes, life goes by. Pakistan have decided to eat communal meals instead of developing its own economic system.

- (3) *Karz magney ki adat, Pakistan ke hukmranoo ki adat bhan gei he aur kashkol hathoo me tham kar, Pakistan ki image dunya bhar me khrab kar di.*

ENGLISH VERSION: Asking for loans is a basic need for Pakistan's rulers. They take a bowl in their hands and damage Pakistan's image in the world.

- (4) *Maashi traqqi ke lye apney wsael par bharsoa karney ki zroorat he na ke mukhtalef adaroo ke pas kashkol utha kar pohncn jaen jo dunya bhar ke gareeb aur traqqi pazeer mulkoo ka khon choos rahen hen.*

ENGLISH VERSION: We have to trust in our resources to achieve economy development. But we tend to arrive at the doors of different institutions with our bowls who suck the blood of underdeveloped countries.

- (5) *Karzoo ki adayegi gareeb awam ka khoon nachor kar honi he.*

ENGLISH VERSION: Debts will be paid by draining the blood of poor people.

- (6) *Hamara mulk karzoo me doob gia he.*

ENGLISH VERSION: Our country is sunken into debt.

- (7) *Mulq ki mayshat sood ki gandgi me alooda he.*

ENGLISH VERSION: Economy is stuck in the filth of debt interest.

- (8) *Karzoo ka ek pahar he jo mulq ki traqqi ki rah me rukawat bna howa he.*

ENGLISH VERSION: There is a mountain of debts in the path of economy development.

- (9) *East-indian kmpni mayshat par asr andaaz thi. Ye soney ki chirya Pakistan se zyada se zyada loot mar kar ke, Britain muntaqil kar di gei.*

ENGLISH VERSION: Economy was affected, in part, by the East-Indian company. This gold-bird looted everything from Pakistan and then it was transferred to Britain.

(10) *Mayshat oopr ki janib door sakti he.*

ENLGIH VERSION: Economy will run upwards